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was called, had for his function the making and tending of the fire on which the chief's food was cooked. This duty required a person who could be absolutely trusted by the chief, as the greatest dangers to which one in a position of power could be exposed were those influences that came from evil spirits, from the contamination of contact with womanhood, and particularly through witchcraft—all of which evil influences were supposed to enter the body most easily through food or through the fire on which the food was cooked. Regarding the *tahu ahi,* Krusenstern says (16, p. 167):

> A very important member of the royal family is the firemaker: his duty consists partly in being always near the king's person to execute his orders; but the business wherein his master generally employs him, is of a nature perfectly characteristic of the monarch of Nukahiwa. On quitting his house for any time, his firemaker does not accompany him, but must, in every sense, represent his person with the queen, who finds in him a second husband during the absence of the first. He is the guardian of her virtue, and his reward the enjoyment of that which he he has to protect. The kings of Nukahiwa probably have a notion that it is better to share with one, what would otherwise be divided among several; but perhaps the duty of firemaker is only a royal luxury with him.

That the *tahu ahi* was actually regarded as a guardian of his chief's wife, I have never gathered from informants. This seems to be merely Krusenstern's interpretation of a custom which he did not understand.

The function of the *pekio* or secondary husbands and wives, in the family was chiefly that of aiding in the work connected with the household, with food gathering and preparing, getting firewood, and so on.

THE CHIEF'S SERVANTS

Most of the manual labor in the household of a chief or a chiefess was done by those persons who, following their own desire or through force of circumstance, had become dependants in the household of the chief. According to a Tahu Ata informant, these servants were called *nohoana* (liv- or dwelling)—in other words, those who dwelt with the chief. These, it was explained, cleaned the house and around it, tended the bed space, and did the cooking, the water-carrying, and the like. They were mostly people who came to the chief seeking food, work, and a home. They lived in the house or houses near his sleeping house. According to this informant, it appears that the male and female *nohoana* lived together more or less promiscuously and were referred to generally by the term *vai noa* (literally, common water), the term used in general to refer to persons of a common sort, to those without distinction. When the chief needed more servants than came to him naturally, he sent his assistants to get them. If a *nohoana* drank the *popoi* water of a chief, he was killed.

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622 592 357 689 For one who had put himself in the service of the chief the only escape (in case he found himself dissatisfied and was not permitted to leave) was to seek the protection of another chief—in other words, to bond himself with another. As long as he stayed in the household and under the protection of this other chief, he was safe. But if he returned to his home or to the household in which he had formerly served and which he had left without consent of his master, he was killed.

In Atu Ona on Hiva Oa the chief and the chiefess had each of them both men and women servitors. Some of the servitors lived in the sleeping house with the chief and the chiefess, while others lived near it in their own houses. These servants were always *hua'a*, which here evidently means members of the same tribe rather than close blood relatives. A chief or chiefess picked out those whom he or she desired for service, and the persons thus selected came at their bidding. If the servitor, angered or discontented, took it upon himself or herself to leave the chief's service without permission, the chief summoned one of his war leaders (*toa*) and sent him to the offender's house to kill him. At Pua Ma'u the relation- 592 ship between the chief and his servants was exactly the same as that just 622 described in Atu Ona; they came to his service at his bidding, some lived 357 in his house, others near, and they were subject to his authority in the same way. In Haku Ui on Nuku Hiva I was told that the servants in the chief's household were commoners belonging always to the chief's tribe, never members of a conquered tribe, and always people who came voluntarily or were summoned, and who lived in their own houses near that of the chief or chiefess. In Haka Ui these people could rise to be fishermen but never to be *tuhuka*, skilled craftsmen, or executives. Since such service was chiefly dependent upon the ability of a man through wealth to support those in his service, it seems certain that there must have been in the tribe other households than the chief's with similar dependents.

Terms applied to servants of the dependent type which we have been describing above varied considerably. The terms *nohoana*, and *vai noa* have already been mentioned as being used on Tahu Ata. On Hiva Oa, at Atu Ona, *eu ahi* and also *nohoana* were used. At Pua Ma'u on the same island servants were called *po'i to'o hana* (literally, people-take-work); at Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva they were called *kato* or *komoto*. Dordillon gives *fa'e toa* (literally, all the household) as a term meaning all the servants, *pahina'eo* (domestic), *e he'e imu* (handmaid), *tautua* and *enata ma te kaokao* (servitor). The term *kaokao* occurs frequently in the legends recorded in the native dialect, being applied to men who accompany chiefs as attendants. Literally translated this means "man (or men) at the side."

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to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate the purity of descent.

The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating the relationship.

Inheritance

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however, inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supercede his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity; but all the members if the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were regarded as *tapu*, being the living representatives of the ancestral stock. That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position. It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family stock.

Personal tapu

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaha*,

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622 784 witchcraft. It was thus, through the sending of sickness into the person who offended, that the chief or other *tapu* man punished offenders—particularly women, who embodied the most contaminating influences. The sacredness of the persons of chiefs in Nuku Hiva is illustrated by the following from Krusenstern (16, p. 126):

> Before we quitted the king's house, we were shown his granddaughter, who, as well as all the children and grandchildren of the king's family, is looked upon as *etua*, a deity. She had a house of her own, to which her mother, grandmother, and her nearest relations alone were allowed free admittance; the house being to all others tabu.

Like the person of the chief or chiefess, the house was regarded as *tapu*, but less so in the southern section than in the northern. There is now living in Haka Ui, Nuka Hiva, an old chiefess who is very *tapu* and still preserves her exclusiveness. It has already been said that on Ua Pou commoners were not allowed to enter the houses of chiefs or chiefesses. In contrast to this, I was told that on Hiva Oa the *ka'ioi*, young male libertines, used to enter the house of the chiefess at Pua Ma'u by night just as they would visit any other house in the course of their nightly escapades. Stewart (26, p. 217) says with regard to the *tapu* class as a whole, which would include not only chiefs but all men tapu through being heads of families or as a result of association with activity of some kind:

> As in other groups where this system prevails, the restrictions of the tabu particularly affect those of the common class in points respecting their habitations and food. The houses of men of the tabu class can never be entered by a woman or other person of the common order; consequently the wives of such, and other females with their attendants in their families, whether in a stated or temporary residence, have separate houses for cooking and eating.

The personal property of sacred persons, particularly of chiefs, was imbued with the quality of their sacredness, and hence had to be protected [562] from profane or contaminating influences. Thus the pipe of a chief could not be smoked by any woman. His clothing was *tapu*, particularly to women, and especially the *hiapo*, cloth made from the young banyan, which was distinctly the cloth of chiefs and first-born males.

In general, it may be said that the chief had no distinctive *tapu* connected with him which might not also be associated with any other person, particularly with any other first-born male; but such *tapu* as were associated with the first-born in general were given special weight and importance in the case of chiefs, because of their position and their power [689 754] to compel respect. Punishment for infringement of their personal *tapu* was inflicted through the indirect method of sending sickness by witchcraft, or by the direct method of simply killing the offender.